844 when he ran from village to village with an important message, no one could keep up with him. That was caused by the ibex dung.

854 Now the "little nest" (Tibetan: T'san-nu) is ready. Into it the little baby is placed, crying and kicking his feet; but he soon calms down when he and the other clean contents of the "little nest" have been put in the right position and he has become warm. He finds everything in his little nest that a Tibetan baby demands first in this world: a warm, soft bed and (Tibetan) cleanliness in his dry dung diaper-substitute; and soon he sleeps so long and deep as only a small Tibetan can sleep.

853 The child does not lack in food. The mother is a strong young woman; she can give her child the natural nourishment by which it flourishes like the numerous children of the mother sparrow that has its nest up in the roof; and she may give this food for at least the next two years, even long after the child is able to walk. This the mother does with an amazingly small amount of trouble and care on her part. Where should she find the time for regular baby care according to European conceptions? Even without this she has her share, and more than her share, of labor and trouble.

846 For his wife who is in lying-in the husband had for a long time kept a sheep ready. This sheep is killed on the day after the birth, and in the evening the young woman enjoys with great appetite a solid meal of meat and rice. What would our German doctors say to this?

312 The same evening, when it has become dark, Lobsang Wanggyal leaves his house. On a narrow path he goes around the village, occasionally looking around cautiously to see whether someone /17/ might be noticing him. He arrives at one of the watering ditches which conduct the water that is so valuable here in the upland valleys, from the glacial stream of the nearby gorge to the bottom of the valley for the irrigation of the fields. The man removes a few stones and pieces of turf from the low dam of the ditch and lets the water run into a branch of the ditch which now leads it to his clover fields
783 and to his orchard with the many apricot trees. While he is still
844 occupied with this, a rough voice calls out: "Lobsang Wanggyal, you impure one (Ba-nag-pa) (2) ! what are you doing with that ditch? You

2. Ba-nag-pa is the name for a person who, by touching the woman who is lying in, or by his mere presence in a house in which the birth took place, has become ritually unclean.

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595 body denied, nevertheless, that jealousy was there, ever-present, under
578 the surface. All they said was that it is kept in check by the necessity
152 of the polyandrous system, which in turn is the result of the dearth of resources which consequently should themselves be shared in so bleak an environment.

844 The education of the children in a polyandrous household was the next point which I took up. At birth, I heard, there was no midwifery, mothers usually going to the assistance of their daughters and rendering them the necessary service. After that, it was the mother who naturally
854 looked after the baby in its early infancy, often suckling it for a pro-
853 tracted period of from one to three years, depending on subsequent pregnancies. Sometimes, a woman would be assisted in the care of the child by one of her own sisters from outside – either from the house of her parents or from the house she had been married into in *bag-ma*.

863 Asked what were the rules of cleanliness taught early to a baby, I was told that there were none. Children were left to do absolutely whatever they liked in this respect, and put outside the house to play in the lanes and fields with other children, without any constraint being imposed upon them. Of course, if they dirtied the house, they were scolded and driven outside, but beyond that attitude, the mother never attempted to control them in such matters at all. (This might actually
54 account for the extraordinary freedom of Tibetans everywhere within
123 their cultural area in what concerns evacuatory functions; both men and women seem to have no shame at all in performing on the streets in public and before everybody's gaze. They will also follow Europeans who try to retire in privacy, to see "how they do it" – one of the most embarrassing things about field-work in Tibet.)

857 Children take to playing very early in the lanes and fields. They make castles of mud and water, and nothing seems to amuse them more during their first years. They then go over to more sophisticated games such as hockey, riding on sticks, playing at being a family, at cultivating the fields with small, imitation hoes, at being bride and bridegroom at a wedding festival. Dolls are made for the girls out of rags, and the boys go about with little axes made of wood. But they seem to tire of such games at times, and often go back to making mud and water pies and constructions.

595 It is at this stage that paternal authority makes itself felt. I asked
855 who was the father who took over control, expecting it to be the eldest, as he is regarded as the head of the family. But I was told that this was not so, and that it was the father who was the most influential who

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A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of